

(Mrs. LINCOLN asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. LINCOLN. Mr. Speaker, I think we can certainly make it clear that the issue here is not about balancing the budget. The majority of the people in this body, and I think the American people, have stated that they want the assurance of the future and through that they want to see a balanced budget.

Mr. Speaker, this debate here today is about fairness. It is about a plan of priorities that are fair and common sense in the approach about balancing the budget of this Nation.

The Republican plan is fundamentally unfair, making unnecessary reductions. They are not needed in order to balance the budget of this Nation. There is, however, an alternative plan that was offered; one that is very fair, common sense, and reasonable: The coalition plan. That plan places deficit reduction as a top priority, while protecting all Americans, especially rural Americans in the State of Arkansas.

The Republican plan is unfair. It is unfair to rural health care. It is unfair to agriculture. It is unfair to education and to veterans. We need to come together, put aside the pettiness of partisan politics, and come up with something that is fair and common sense for the American people.

Mr. SABO. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DEUTSCH].

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I want to focus that 1 minute on Medicare in this budget and go through three things very clearly.

No. 1, the Republicans continue to say it is unprecedented, Medicare is going to go bankrupt in 7 years. The chart right here points out the fact, and a lot of times my colleagues on the other side do not like to listen to facts, but the fact is in 12 of the last 30 years that Medicare has existed in actuarial life was less than 7 years. It is not unprecedented. We have done things to deal with the actuarial change.

No. 2, is \$270 billion in cuts. Where did that come from? That number has nothing to do with the actuarial soundness of Medicare. It is a derived number from the budget deficit that they need. And in fact if it had anything to do with Medicare, it would stay in the Medicare trust fund, which it does not do in the Medicare proposals in the reconciliation bill.

Mr. Speaker, the third and final thing is that the truth of this program, the bottom line, I think I will let the Speaker speak for himself: "We don't get rid of Medicare in round one because we don't think that's politically smart, and we don't think that's the right way to go through a transition period, but we believe it's going to wither on the vine because we think people are going to voluntarily leave it."

Mr. SABO. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARKEY].

□ 1415

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, Winston Churchill once said, in a tribute to the Royal Air Force, "Never in the field of human conflict has so much been owed by so many to so few."

Under the Gingrich budget, it can only be said that the reverse is true. Never have so many given so much for such a privileged few.

The Republicans are giving huge tax breaks to the wealthy while hard-working, low-income individuals and families get hit with a \$32 billion tax increase. They are repealing the alternative minimum tax, returning us to the days when some of America's most profitable corporations paid no taxes whatsoever. They are going to allow employers to treat their workers' pension funds like corporate checking accounts. They would blacken the soul of the land of opportunity by cutting funding for child nutrition programs and student loans. How are you supposed to get a job in the 21st century when you cannot get a decent education or a decent meal in the last decade of the 20th century?

They would slash nearly a half trillion dollars from Medicare and Medicaid, putting the health of millions of seniors and poor children and disabled Americans at risk. They would nearly double Medicare premiums and eliminate those current law guarantees that the poorest seniors get help paying those premiums.

Millions of seniors in poverty, many of them widows, depend on Medicaid to pay for their Medicare premiums, deductibles, and copayments. The last time I pointed that out on the floor in this budget, that it would clobber poor seniors, the Speaker ran to the floor and said that I was either ignorant or misinformed. Well, guess what, I was right and he was flat wrong. And when I challenged him to fix it, he turned his back on the seniors of this country.

Well, Mr. Speaker, this "my way or the highway" galloping Gingrichism is going to have a commonsense answer. You are wrong, Mr. Speaker. Stop it or America's seniors and working families will stop it for you.

Mr. SABO. Mr. Speaker, I yield 45 seconds to the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. ABERCROMBIE].

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, as you know, earlier this year we had to fight off the high one provision that would have taken away what we promised to our veterans. I am inquiring, I would like to inquire and will yield to the Committee on the Budget spokesperson, as to whether or not it is true, as Congressional Quarterly is now reporting, that the cost of living increases for military retirees for 1996, 1997, and 1998 have been removed from this budget?

Is it a fact, and I will yield to anyone on the Republican side who represents the committee, is it not a fact, as Congressional Quarterly is now reporting, that they are taking away the equity payments of cost-of-living for our mili-

tary retirees starting this year, after promising they would have it because civilians had it?

Mr. Speaker, has there been an answer to my question?

So we may take it that military retirees will not get their cost of living adjustment.

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 15 seconds to the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN].

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, the COLA's will be there. I am on the Committee on National Security. The COLA's will be there. We must not put out anymore misinformation.

Mr. SABO. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FATTAH].

Mr. FATTAH. Mr. Speaker, a defining moment for the new Republican majority, to have a balanced, a fiscally balanced budget that is morally bankrupt is not the result of the work that I think the good intentions, perhaps, they started out with. I rise to oppose the Budget Reconciliation Act.

Mr. SABO. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds, and I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] for the answer to the question of whether the military COLA's are back to April or not?

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, because of the accursed, the dreaded and the hated Byrd rule, the COLA's were taken out in reconciliation. But in our authorization bill on the Committee on National Security, formerly the Committee on Armed Services, they will be there. It will happen. Some of us will fight to the political death to make sure that they are there.

#### CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BOEHNER). Without objection, a call of the House is ordered.

There was no objection.

A call of the House was ordered.

The call was taken by electronic device, and the following Members responded to their names:

[Roll No. 811]

#### ANSWERED "PRESENT"—409

Abercrombie	Bilbray	Camp
Ackerman	Bilirakis	Canady
Allard	Bishop	Cardin
Andrews	Blute	Castle
Archer	Boehlert	Chabot
Armey	Boehner	Chambliss
Bachus	Bonilla	Chenoweth
Baesler	Bonior	Christensen
Baker (CA)	Bono	Chrysler
Baker (LA)	Borski	Clay
Baldacci	Boucher	Clayton
Ballenger	Browder	Clement
Barcia	Brown (CA)	Clinger
Barr	Brown (FL)	Clyburn
Barrett (NE)	Brown (OH)	Coble
Barrett (WI)	Brownback	Coburn
Bartlett	Bryant (TN)	Coleman
Bass	Bryant (TX)	Collins (GA)
Bateman	Bunn	Collins (MI)
Becerra	Bunning	Combest
Beilenson	Burton	Condit
Bentsen	Buyer	Conyers
Bereuter	Callahan	Cooley
Bevill	Calvert	Costello

Cox	Holden	Neal
Coyne	Horn	Nethercutt
Cramer	Hostettler	Ney
Crane	Houghton	Norwood
Crapo	Hoyer	Nussle
Cremeans	Hunter	Oberstar
Cubin	Hutchinson	Obey
Cunningham	Hyde	Olver
Danner	Inglis	Ortiz
Davis	Istook	Orton
de la Garza	Jackson-Lee	Owens
Deal	Jacobs	Oxley
DeLauro	Jefferson	Packard
DeLay	Johnson (CT)	Pallone
Dellums	Johnson (SD)	Parker
Deutsch	Johnson, E. B.	Pastor
Diaz-Balart	Johnson, Sam	Paxon
Dickey	Johnston	Payne (NJ)
Dicks	Jones	Payne (VA)
Dixon	Kanjorski	Pelosi
Doggett	Kaptur	Peterson (FL)
Dooley	Kasich	Peterson (MN)
Dornan	Kelly	Petri
Doyle	Kennedy (MA)	Pickett
Dreier	Kennedy (RI)	Pomeroy
Duncan	Kennelly	Porter
Dunn	Kildee	Portman
Durbin	Kim	Poshard
Edwards	King	Pryce
Ehlers	Kingston	Quillen
Ehrlich	Klecza	Quinn
Emerson	Klink	Radanovich
Engel	Klug	Rahall
English	Knollenberg	Ramstad
Ensign	Kolbe	Rangel
Eshoo	LaFalce	Reed
Evans	LaHood	Regula
Everett	Lantos	Richardson
Ewing	Largent	Riggs
Farr	Latham	Rivers
Fattah	LaTourette	Roberts
Fawell	Laughlin	Roemer
Fazio	Lazio	Rogers
Fields (TX)	Leach	Rohrabacher
Filner	Levin	Ros-Lehtinen
Flake	Lewis (CA)	Rose
Flanagan	Lewis (GA)	Roth
Foglietta	Lewis (KY)	Roukema
Foley	Lightfoot	Roybal-Allard
Forbes	Lincoln	Royce
Ford	Linder	Rush
Fowler	Lipinski	Sabo
Fox	Livingston	Salmon
Franks (CT)	LoBiondo	Sanders
Franks (NJ)	Lofgren	Sanford
Frelinghuysen	Longley	Sawyer
Frisa	Lowe	Saxton
Funderburk	Lucas	Scarborough
Furse	Luther	Schaefer
Gallegly	Maloney	Schiff
Ganske	Manton	Schroeder
Gejdenson	Manzullo	Schumer
Gekas	Markey	Scott
Gephardt	Martinez	Seastrand
Geren	Martini	Sensenbrenner
Gilchrest	Mascara	Serrano
Gillmor	Matsui	Shadegg
Gilman	McCarthy	Shaw
Gonzalez	McCollum	Shays
Goodlatte	McCrery	Shuster
Goodling	McDade	Sisisky
Gordon	McHale	Skaggs
Goss	McHugh	Skeen
Graham	McInnis	Skelton
Green	McIntosh	Slaughter
Greenwood	McKeon	Smith (MI)
Gunderson	McKinney	Smith (NJ)
Gutierrez	McNulty	Smith (TX)
Gutknecht	Meehan	Smith (WA)
Hall (OH)	Meek	Solomon
Hall (TX)	Menendez	Souder
Hamilton	Metcalf	Spence
Hancock	Meyers	Spratt
Hansen	Mfume	Stearns
Hastert	Mica	Stenholm
Hastings (FL)	Miller (CA)	Stockman
Hastings (WA)	Miller (FL)	Stokes
Hayes	Minge	Stump
Hayworth	Mink	Stupak
Hefley	Moakley	Tanner
Hefner	Molinari	Tate
Heineman	Mollohan	Tauzin
Henger	Montgomery	Taylor (MS)
Hilleary	Moorhead	Taylor (NC)
Hilliard	Morella	Tejeda
Hinchey	Murtha	Thomas
Hobson	Myers	Thompson
Hoekstra	Myrick	Thornberry
Hoke	Nadler	Thornton

□ 1440

The SPEAKER pro tempore. On this rollcall, 409 Members have recorded their presence by electronic device, a quorum.

Under the rule, further proceedings under the call are dispensed with.

#### SEVEN-YEAR BALANCED BUDGET RECONCILIATION ACT OF 1995

Mr. SABO. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VENTO].

(Mr. VENTO asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this reckless restructuring of our priorities.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this extreme Republican budget reconciliation conference report. The bill represents a reckless restructuring of national priorities which advocates a shift of resources and commitment away from working American families and granted to the most affluent segments of our society. This Republican Gingrich reconciliation bill abandons the goal of equality of social, health, education, and economic responsibility for members of our American society.

I have supported in the past and will continue to support responsible deficit reduction policies. I voted for the alternative coalition budget, a difficult vote but appropriate, which would reach a budget surplus in 7 years, end corporate subsidies, and permit higher spending on crucial national investment priorities without lavishing tax breaks on the wealthy. I supported the 1993 reconciliation measure which has to date exceeded its targets; with 3 straight years of deficit reduction resulting in the lowest annual deficit as a percent of GDP since the late 1970's. I certainly do not support the Republican reconciliation bill, which slashes proven programs that ensure economic and health security for working Americans, families, and seniors in order to finance tax breaks principally for investors, corporations, and affluent individuals. The legislation includes deep cuts and new fees for student loans, and deep cuts in Medicaid and Medicare. Further, it includes provisions to put American pensions at risk and promote environmental degradation. This measure disassembles the Federal commitment and structure that has built and empowered our Nation to unprecedented economic and social achievement.

At the same time this reconciliation measure cuts deeply \$270 billion from Medicare, the bill gives \$245 billion in tax breaks to the wealthiest members of our society and corporate America. In fact, the wealthiest 12 percent of American families, those with an income over

\$100,000, will get 45 percent of the tax break benefits, over \$110 billion in tax breaks. The Republicans continue to insist on a cut in the capital gains tax rate for big investors, a reduction of the alternative minimum tax for corporations, and a limited child tax credit which is actually denied to 33 percent of kids because they are low income. In addition, the Republican Gingrich reconciliation bill cuts the existing earned income tax credit by over \$32 billion, thereby producing a tax increase for the working poor. In fact, the Joint Committee on Taxation reported that families with under \$30,000 in income will actually pay more in taxes—that's right, pay more under the Republican Gingrich tax break measure. Some break—it's more on the backs of hard-working families.

Policymakers who are serious about deficit reduction do not push a package which includes \$245 billion in tax breaks, skewed to the wealthiest in our society. Not only is it unwise to reduce revenues in this time of fiscal constraints, but it is unfair to dole out benefits to the well-heeled when everyone else in society is being told they must sacrifice.

The new Republican Gingrich majority in the House has made the Medicare and Medicaid Programs its target for nearly 50 percent of the total spending cuts contained in the Republican reconciliation package. Medicare is one of our Nation's most successful programs. It was established over 30 years ago as a national commitment to assure seniors health care coverage. The Republican Gingrich scheme is going to threaten the integrity of this program and make seniors pay more for less health care coverage. With \$270 billion in cuts, overall Medicare spending will be cut by a cumulative \$6,795 per senior over the next 7 years, meaning that in 2002 there will be \$1,700 less in Medicare dollars per senior in that year alone. Even the trustees of the Medicare trust fund strongly oppose the Republican plan because the extensive cuts go far beyond program reform or trust fund stability. The Republican plan is not designed to save Medicare, it is a scheme to let Medicare wither on the vine.

In the name of balancing the budget, the Republican reconciliation bill not only creates a social deficit in our Nation, but also creates a serious environmental deficit. This legislation amounts to a wholesale degradation of America's natural resource legacy, evoking the tradition of 19th century robber barons who exploited the West. We see the imprint of special interests, including the mining, oil, and gas industries, throughout the Republican reconciliation measure. In particular, the decision to destroy forever the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge [ANWR] by permitting oil and gas exploration and drilling demonstrates the true spirit of the Republican majority. ANWR is the last great piece of American wilderness and opening the refuge area to drilling will assure destruction of this pristine wilderness. Folding this measure into this bill is a sleight of hand way to circumvent the process and force this wholesale policy change upon the American public without open debate on its merits.

The question really is about the direction our Nation should be heading and what values we want to cultivate to enhance our future. This Republican Gingrich reconciliation bill reveals a significant change in national priorities and values under the GOP leadership. Republicans' misplaced priorities are to pull back